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ABSTRACT

The underlying reason for the failure of United States schools to provide equal educational opportunity to black children can be found in the Brown v Board of Education decision, which was unwanted and written from the perspective that blacks are an inferior group. This discriminatory basis has caused resistance to school desegregation economically, politically, and socially. Statistics demonstrate that reluctant integration has resulted in a loss of role models and leadership positions within schools for black students. Change will be effected only if the underlying assumption that differences imply superior and inferior groups is abandoned. Americans should reaffirm their respect for human dignity and recommit themselves to American principles of the equality and inalienable rights of all human beings. (MK)

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Desegregation in the 80's: Concerns and Challenges for Public Education*

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Mrs. Furgess and Mr. Evans should be highly complimented, for their part in planning one of the most distinguished and outstanding programs that I have seen. They, working with their staffs, have done a fantastic job of pulling this together. That's not idle flattery. It really takes something to put a conference together like this, and it takes a great deal of work, a great deal of though, a great deal of planning the field long before we even get a notification that something like this is coming up. So I'm certainly very pleased to be a part of it and I certainly think that they deserved our commendation for providing the kind of atmosphere, the kind of setting, the kind of stimulating speakers which have made it a very worthwhile kind of event.

I want to talk to you about an unwanted child and her offspring. In 1954 a child was born to America. After several abortions, one of which had occurred around 1865, there was something known as the Fourteenth Amendment. There was another abortion that took place a few years later by a "Dr." Plessy and Ferguson, and then there was another unwanted pregnancy and child that was born in 1954 in the United States of America. I'd like to read to you very briefly the birth announcement for this child that was born in 1954. Its says, in brief: the segregation of white and black children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the black children. (I'm going to underscore the important part of this birth announcement). The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law. For the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority effects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law therefore has a tendency to retard educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated

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school system. We come then to the question presented-does segregation of children in public schools soley on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? "We believe that it dooes".

We call this decision for desegregation an unwanted child because of evidence that is found in this birth announcement. There are some assumptions in this announcement which lay the foundation for why we are gathered here today and why the problem that we are confronting is such a complex problem that is so full of paradox. There are some assumptions in this birth announcement that if they had been understood at the birth of the unwanted child, we could have realized then--how much the child was unwanted. What are some of the assumptions? First of all, it says that "this process of segregation of white and black children is detrimental to black children". Immediately, there is an assumption that it is not necessarily detrimental to the white child. It assumes that the disastrous process of forced separation of the races was detrimental and defective to one side of the coin but it was not defective to the other side of the coin. There is an underlying assumption that the damage was only to the black child. In making such an assumption a fundamental problem was introduced, which we shall discuss at greater length below.

The court's decision continues by stating that "the policy of separating the races is interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group." Undoubtedly, this is very true. Obviously missing is the obverse of this reality and that is that this system of separation also denotes the assumed superiority of the "non-negro" group. The fact that is not addressed and is consistently omitted in studies of racial attitudes is that this kind of illusionary superiority is psychologically, motivationally, and emotionally as detrimental to human personality as is the illusion of inferiority.

However, since this problem was not addressed, it was not evident that in assessing the problem as the inferiority of one group there was an implicit assumption of the superiority of the other group which means "white supremacy", which is the essence of

* Excerpt from Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 347 US 483

white racism. So the underlying and basic issue of racism which was covertly laid out in the "birth announcement" was NEVER even addressed as the source of the ambivalence about the nativity of school desegregation. The consequence has been a tendency to indict the effect, but not the cause. So the "child" that was born was unwanted because the child came as an expression of shame. The system of desegregation was an admission of shame for the illusion of white supremacy. It was not, however, an admission of culpability or fault or a recognition of the deeply insidious disease of human thinking known as white supremacy and white racism.

The statement continues by suggesting that this system or segregation has a tendency to retard. Again, however, the retardation is of the educational and mental development of the Black child. This is, no doubt, true, but the assumption is that nothing is done to the mental and educational development of the white child. In other words, there is not even the suggestion that the white child may be missing something in his mental development and in his educational development. Couldn't the statement perhaps have suggested that school desegregation retards the educational and mental development of children in general? Many subsequent problems could have been prevented if the Justices had justly stated in this landmark ruling that the system of segregation had damaging effects on the victim and the victimizer. We suggest the child called "desegregation" was unwanted. Because its birth was unwanted there was an unwillingness to look at the true geneaology and make-up of the "child" being born.

The statement by the supreme court also states that somehow the segregated system deprives the Negro child of the benefits they would receive in a locally integrated school system. If, in fact, the Justices were talking about a racially integrated school system, there would have been mutual benefits for the black child and the white child. There is considerable evidence that this was not the perspective of the ruling. It is explicitly stated that black children would be permitted to be with Caucasian children and by implication that black children be permitted to an education in an integrated system.

Finally the last assumption which underlies the whole thesis in this birth announcement for the unwanted child called desegregation is the covert assumption that being exclusively with other Black folks is mentally unhealthy. The ruling alleges that children from such environments are deprived. Being exclusively with other Blacks retards the mental development and the way to cure or correct th the victimized mind of the African-American child is to put him in close physical proximity to the Caucasian child. At no point in this document is it addressed that somehow the psychological, the mental, the educational, even the social development of the Caucasian child similarly was being detrimentally affected by the system of segregation.

This analysis suggests that implicit in this decision was a perpetuation of the very racism that caused the original enslavement and subsequent segregation of African-Americans. That is why some twenty-six (26) years later the Brown decision had not accomplished what it was intended to accomplish. This is because desegregation was an unwanted child was at it birth. The resistance to the birth was total and absolute. It sent a chill through the southern United States immediately and ten years later it chilled the northern United States. Even today chills were still running through this country, running through Dixie, running through the north, running from the east to the west. Chills of resistance are still running!

Too frequently in recent years, we have seen the "non-victims" of segregation holding their young infants in one arm with a brick in the other hand throwing it at a school bus or spitting on a young child who was no more than in compliance with the law of the land. Old images of this scene from New Orleans still haunt us and recent repeats from Boston and Louisville remind us of the persisting patterns. Paradoxically, this was the reaction of "non-victims" of segregation. The civil compliance was the reaction of the "deficient"who needed school desegregation. The Supreme Court decision says the ones who were walking in the school innocently needed it. This behavior of course, suggests that whatever may have been the effect of

segregation on the victims, there were some equally (or more) serious problems developed in the perpetrators of segregation. It is indeed paradoxical that the most obviously pathological behavior came from those who were least in the need of a socially enforced corrective experience.

This child grew up in America over fifteen or twenty years through many visits back to the Federal Court "doctors". Despite all kinds of resistance at all levels-economically, politically, socially-coming from the "psychologically healthy ones," the child of desegregation grew up anyway.

Dr. Frederic Venditti (1978) has observed at this conference and elsewhere along with others that "first generation desegregation problems tend to be obvious and spectacular, while second generation problems especially in the majority-white secondary school are frequently not recognized and often go unnoticed by many in the school and community." Venditti (1978) indentifies second generation desegregation problems as such things "resegregation, minority group isolation and alienation, interpersonal and intergroup tensions, and curricular and instructional deficiencies vis-a-vis a multi-cultural student body." In other words the rock-throwing and spitting of the first generation has been replaced by more sophisticated forms such as by pushouts, dropouts, by suspensions, special education classes, ability grouping, minimum competency testing, IQ testing, and exclusionary disciplines or policies. Arnez (1978) extends this list to also include the effect of "the loss of racial models, heroes and authority figures for Blackchildren as well as victimization by forced one-way busing. The justification for the persistence of all of these practices is the same as it was in 1954, 1865 and in 1621 when the first Africans were enslaved in country. That justification remains one of confirming the inferiority of Afro-Americans.

The same basic assumptions have not changed. The assumption that the Afro-American is less than human. The assumption that such "infra-humans" deserve at best, benevolence but not consideration; they deserve, at best, our sympathy but not our shared collaboration; they deserve from us favors but not cooperation. We can teach them

much, but can only learn little.

Arnez (1978) also observes that another second generation desegregation problem is the effect on adults. She observes that teachers and administrators have been reduced by hundreds. Arnez quotes a survey by Abney (1976) that showed a total of 57 school districts in Florida to show a decline in the number of Black public school principals as of the 1975-76 school year. These districts had a total loss of 188 black public school principals. Abney's (1976) survey also showed: Thirty-nine (39) of the 433 Black public school principals serving in Florida during the 1964-64 school year were serving as classroom teachers during the 1975-76 school year. Over 48 per cent (212) of the 433 Black public school principals were reported as either retired, deceased, unknown or unemployed. Only 85 of the 433 who were serving as principals in 1964-65 were still principals in Florida during the 1975-76 school year.

These are Florida statistics but we are confident that a similar survey in South Carolina, would show similar or worse results. Again, it is untenable that we are dealing with such wide-scale incompetence. Indeed not! It means that the same ugly monster that spawned the first birth is still operative and fertile.

Long-standing institutions and monuments to Afro-American achievement were destroyed in a short period of years. Somehow we no longer needed the Booker T. Washington High schools. We no longer needed the Carver High Schools. We no longer needed the Bethune High Schools. We no longer needed the Charles Drew or Nat Turner High Schools. Instead, give us George Washington High School; Give us a Strom Thurmond High School. Give us any kind of high school except one that will let the African American child know that he too has a historically legitimate reality and ancestors of great accomplishment. Somehow all of those schools began to disappear. They became abandoned buildings or community centers. Though structually they were well overdue for renovation or replacements; their replacements always came with different names.

Black students who had competently been student council presidents no longer were capable of leadership. Students who had been newspaper writers were no longer capable of working on staffs. Students who had done lay-outs, photography and graphics for yearbooks were no longer capable of even writing captions under pictures. Somehow, all of those things which had been adequately managed became unmanageable by Afro-American students. Children had been taught to read out of books that often did not even have backs on them. Children had been taught to read off a blackboard that was often scarred and damaged. Children had been taught to write with chalk that never reached its second hand location in the Black school in whole pieces. Having come out of such a system, I observed recently that I was 17 years old and in college before I knew that chalk came in whole pieces. After the chalk had been used up and broken at the Caucasian school across town, they would send the pieces over to us. Imagine, I didn't even know what whole chalk was. If someone had asked me on an IQ test how does chalk look, I would have described the same varying sized pieces and might have been scored deficient in my basic information and may have been diagnosed as mentally retarded and eligible for a special ed class to receive minimal vocational training. Though this example may appear somewhat facetious, it is not as far-fetched as we might hope. The very concept of a self-fulfilling prophecy assumes that you should deprive them, then test them on what they were deprived of and with conviction, based upon your statistics and your test scores it is proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that these people are inferior.

In order to solve the problem it needs to be properly analyzed. The birth announcement that we began with shows us with hindsight that the problems that we have today were inevitable. They were inevitable simply because no one bothered to analyze the problem. No one bothered to deal with the fact that racism sired this unwanted child and its offspring.

Another assumption that underlies all of this is one that assumes that difference always means an inferior and a superior. That's probably one of the sickest ideas

to evolve out of Cartesian logic. Such a logic system says that the world is discontinuous. It is a logic system which says that there is a male versus female. It is a logic system that says there is a night versus day; that there is a sun versus moon; that there is a negative versus positive rather than seeing the holistic picture of the universe in which even the most diametrically opposed realities are all working simultaneously to bring about a synthesized reality of oneness. Such a holistic world view is alien to the western mind which had become alienated in its own makeup. Freud conceptualizes this alienation by suggesting that the "ego" is at war with the "Id"; the "superego" is at war with both of them. Mothers are supposed to be at war with fathers; sons are at war with their fathers for their mothers and daughters are at war with their mothers for their fathers. According to this conception, everybody is at war with somebody. Throughout the western conception of the world war becomes inevitable.

There is even supposed to be a war of the sexes. Whoever said there was supposed to be a war between the sexes? Why can't we presume that there is a natural camaraderie of the sexes? Why not assume that the nature of the relationship between the sexes is one of inevitable alliance? Most of the people in the world assume that. Don't you know there are native Americans and African people who have for tens of thousands of years believed that a man and a woman were not complete until they formed a unit with the opposite sex? Rather than assuming an inevitable schism, there could be the assumption of an inevitable unification. People who make such an assumption have much more stable and enduring relationships. This dualism and the assumption of separation had the world divided into warring camps and it is the philosophical root of this country's inability to see difference and not assume superior and inferior.

Almost any kind of difference gets reduced to inferiority and superiority. We observe that people have different types of reproductive organs and we conclude that one set of genitals is superior and the other is inferior. An obvious absurdity since each is dysfunctional without its complement. This underlying premise of sexism

is an excellent example of how ridiculous this system is which equates superficial variation with essential worth. In order to correct some of our political, social and behavioral inanities, we must begin to deal with this basic philosophical fallacy because there is no place in nature to justify such a false dichotomy. Throughout nature you find forces which appear oppositional though come together to make or bring about a strong collaboration. What is the challenge of the eighties? The challenge of the eighties is to give birth to a child born out of love, mutual respect, collaboration and a recognition that the cosmos either works together or it destroys itself. In order for a child to be born in this decade out of love and mutual respect, some important and sometimes painful things must occur. It becomes personally uncomfortable to do what must be done because we must take personal responsibility for some of the problem. We need to understand the reality of what it means to be a racist. We need to understand the reality of what it means to be a sexist. We need to pull out the mirror and begin to deal squarely with the motivations in our individual makeup which have been warped by the limited perception which makes us perceive that when there is a difference one must be inferior, one must be superior and you are the superior one. We must understand the thinking which makes us conclude that masculinity is strong and femininity is weak; that white is intelligent and Black is unintelligent, that white is somehow the pure norm and Black is the deviant; and that which is done by white is correct and that which is non-white is automatically in error.

We must question the assumption that blonde hair, that's stringy is pretty hair and black hair that's kinky is ugly; we have got to deal with the problem that makes us believe that white, pale skin is pretty and jet black skin is ugly. We have got to deal with the reality that makes us think that little thin lips are pretty and big thick lips are ugly. Yes, we have to deal with the reality that makes us believe that Beethoven is refined music and Coltrane is gut bucket music. We have got to deal with the reality that makes us believe that Henry David Thoreau wrote good literature and James Baldwin writes protest literature. We have got to deal

with the reality that Rudolf Nureyev is a beautiful dancer but Alvin Ailey is also a genius. We have got to confront the reality that has our world view construed in such ugly paradoxes, that our own development has been restricted because we don't understand the implications of what it means to be a racist.

Do you know what it means to be a racist? It means that you operate in a delusion of grandeur. Psychologists tell us that those who operate with delusions of grandeur place themselves into a sphere whereby they are incapable of correcting their own errors and therefore do nothing but perpetuate their ills upon themselves. Because they live in this grandiose delusion that: "I am the best and therefore I don't need to be corrected," they begin to believe that they are incapable of error and they therefore compound their errors from generation to generation. The racist is unable to see that he's causing his own offspring to be limited in the horizons of his development. The Holy Q ur'an asserts that human beings were made in different tribes so that they may know each other and not despise each other. The assumption is that the human make up is so vast that somehow one group of people was too limited to be able to bring in all the possible permutations of the human make up so wide varieties of culture, wide varieties of physiognomy, wide varieties of sociological structures were put into the world so that people could learn more about who they could potentially be by studying other tribes of human beings. We have a reality in which we have restricted our growth by limiting our horizons to: "I'm the best and they are the worse". Many of the problems which we have, increasingly, in Western society can be traced to this fundamental, unexamined reality. The growing reliance on drugs to alter our emotions; the dependency on alcohol for everything from business transactions to social recreation; the increasing suicide rate among young middle class Caucasian males and the epidemic proportions of family dissolution are all related. I suggest to you that this wide variety of social and personal problems are rooted in the unexmained reality of what it means to be a racist and a sexist.

Many of the same things are true for victims of racism and we too must examine ourselves. The racist must examine who he is, but the victim of racism has got to examine what happened to himself. The victim must confront the fact that he can't respect leadership from somebody who looks like him because racism taught him that somebody who looks like you can't lead you. We must deal with the amount of money and energy we put into trying to lighten our skin or otherwise alter our apperance because racism has convinced us that black skin is ugly. We must realize that we spend millions of dollars a year on cosmetics. We are busily trying to look like the lady on "The Young and the Restless" and "Search for Tomorrow" or some other fantasy person. We are unable to use our own cultural expressions until they have been legitimized by someone else. Until recently we would see a sister with the traditional African braids and say: "look at that child with her hair all plaited up like that." Don't she look a mess". And then Bo Derek got some braids and now everybody wants a Derek coiffure!" That's the insanity that has you incapable of accepting what you are until its been legitimized by the racist himself.

We must investigate ourselves. We must investigate the fact that we don't want to be in schools where there are mostly African American children. We have to deal with the fact that we are so concerned about our individual welfare that we won't stand up to protect that African American child who needs us to advocate for him. We must confront the fact that we are so afraid of being who we are that if we hear people stand up to defend what we need, we won't even come to their defense. We let good administrators get eliminated. We let strong leaders get killed. We let people stand up for our welfare get murdered and we hesitate to raise a question. We permit people to abuse us and misuse us and we won't even raise a voice.

Most importantly, if we begin to analyze ourselves as a victim of racism, we begin to understand the limitation of color consciousness. We begin to understand that it is as awful to feel that you are bad because of your color as it is to feel that you're good because of your color. We begin to understand the limitations of

analyzing human beings on the basis of skin color rather than on the basis of human character. When you begin to analyze these things as victims of racism you become aware of what you need to do as a human being. We need to understand that the only way that this child can be born out of love and respect is by a growing respect for difference.

Call it "multi-cultural education," or whatever. What we actually need is to have a rebirth of respect for human dignity. Human beings need to be respected again in their implicit make-up. We need to understand for example, that there is something very beautiful in the kind of language that African Americans have. There is an art to being able to say "that's hip", "that's cool," and everybody knowing what it means by how you say it. There is a skill to saying: "ain't that bad" and meaning that "its good" and the meaning changing with the tone and the rhythm of how you say it. One must respect the ability to change a language that was imposed upon you and make that language your language, because of your creative survivability and capacity to adapt to environments no matter how alien. That has got to be respected.

Nancy Arnez (1976) says that Black children have been victimized by ignorance of their learning styles and culture. One example of that culture and learning style is rhythm (Akbar, 1976; Akbar, 1980) We have got to understand what it means to be rhythmic. We need to understnad the power of the "juke". We need to appreciate the dynamics of "having church" where people don't read ancient litergy, but they bring the reality of spirituality in the shared collective rhythm of getting into a shared oneness. You have got to understand what it means, as Beryl Banfield said yesterday, "to line a hymn." We must understand the cultural significance and educational implication of saying "Amen". We must understand what these things mean in a culture where feeling is also real and not just logic. We have got to understand what it means to live in a world where human sensitivity and human feeling has higher priority

than human logic. We have got to understand what it means to be in a culture where looking out for folks is actually as important as looking out for self. Then we can understand what it means when a mother who already has a house full of children will take in one more child because that child's mother died. Then we can understand what it means to have one pot of beans on the stove and a lot of mouths to feed and there is one more sitting at the table and you don't mind stretching the beans a little more by adding a little water.

The NTE, (the National Teachers Exam) and similar tests may be able to measure what you know about Caucasian books, but it can't measure the heart of an African teacher. There is no section on those tests which measure the dedication of that woman or man who knows that this child that's sitting there represents the potential the future of his/her world. The score on the NTE will not measure that teacher who will stay there until late in the evening telling that child " I know you can learn", and she knows he can learn because the child looks like her and she learned.

We must understand that in order to respect each other, we must know each other. In order to know each other it is necessary to bring about corrective learning. We need the kind of corrective learning that lets us understand that history books lied. We need to understand the kinds of fallacies that say on page one that the origin of civilization was along the Nile Valley and on page two they have jumped twenty thousands years to Greece. We need to know that the renaissance didn't just happen in Europe, it was triggered in Europe by some people who came out of northern Africa who were called the Moors, (Black Muslims), who brought civilization into Spain and it spread from there around Southern Europe and gave enlightenment to the renaissance. We need to know that, Einstein's mathematics was based upon formulations that were laid down by ancient workers on the continent of Africa long before Greeks understood civilization. We need to know that the pyramids that stand in the middle of the Egyptian desert today were put there by people whose knowledge of architecture and the human make up was so well synchronized that by going into the structure, it

could preserve the decay or organic matter bring about a healing influence and advance the human intelligence just by exposure to the energy under the dome of the pyramid. Egyptians are Africans and Africans did this long before the coming of European migrants. Columbus didn't accidentally discover America. He used a map and came to America because he discovered through the oldest universities in Europe (built by the Moors in Spain) that contrary to European mythology, the world was round and not flat as they had believed. Jet black, thick lip, kinky hair, big nose men had been on this side of the globe long before there was a Columbus.

Corrective instruction will teach us that Cleopatra was not just a beauty queen who looked like Elizabeth Taylor-that's two lies. First of all she didn't look like Elizabeth Taylor, and second of all she wasn't just a queen. Queens of Egypt were High Priestesses, women of spiritual enlightenment and advanced knowledge. The soap opera version is about the lustful relationship with Mark Anthony. The historical version is that the woman, had been educated as a queen with the advanced knowledge of Egyptian civilization that the Romans needed to have an alliance with. So they wanted the queeen Cleopatra. Without some corrective education you'll continue to believe that Tarzan was the wisest man to come out of Africa. You'll continue to believe that the natives of the oldest civilized continent on Earth relied on Tarzan or Dr. Stanley for a guide. You'll continue to believe that the missionaries who went into Africa and brought their version of religion was the coming of monotheism when in fact monotheism came out of Africa. Don't you know where Moses was when he learned 'monotheism'? He tells us he was in Egypt and history confirms that there was already a belief in one God long before Moses. We must understand that this world wasn't built 2,000 years ago. The knowledge that this world operates on is tens of thousands of years old and long before civilization had come to Europe it had already reached peaks in the African worlds.

In order to understand first generation desegregation problems and to remedy second generation problems, we need some enlightenment. We need to correct the

errors in our learning. It is important to get some of the books they didn't tell us about such as those by Rogers (1961), Ben-Jochannon (1973), Jackson (1970), Massey (1973) and many others. Let us understand that America was built by Sojourner Truth as it was built by Georgia Washington. Understand that America's knowledge was built as much by George Washington Carver as it was built by Albert Einstein. If you throw away the contributions of the African people you will throw away the very foundation of what we know as Western culture.

We must recommit ourselves to American principles. Few sane men could argue with the principle that " we believe that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." There is no argument with that principle. The argument is with the hypocrisy that lets the man who wrote this principle call his African slave for a mint Julep while he was writing it. We must argue with the hypocrisy--not with the sane principles. Neither is their any argument with the basic tenets of the constitution. The arguments is with the hypocritical implementation of that constitution. We as Africans, we as Europeans, we as Caucasions, we as Blacks, we must bring together our separate cultural histories into the true pool of human cooperation and devote ourselves to the continued growth of American principles and for the first time in 200 years make those principles come alive, right here on the shores of North America.

Finally, we need a moral dedication; a commitment on the basis of our conscience that right is the only avenue of survival. We need a commitment on the basis of conscience that human life and human dignity is more important than anything else. Teachers have got to get that "old time religion". That kind of religion that used to inspire teachers to work all day. We must understand that the work of developing young minds has a higher purpose than a way to buy Cadillacs and to get a vacation in the Bahamas. The teacher has to understand that she/he is laying seed in the fields of time and in this field by watering with kind, deliberate concern and dedication that the rewards may not come in this harvest season but the seeds that

I put in the fields of time are seeds that will grow and expand and will produce seeds far into the distant horizon. In planting those seeds, I plant myself now to be harvested tomorrow. Teaching is a spiritual dedication that understands that teaching is not a job. Though adequate compensation is legitimate. Teaching is an investment! Teaching is not technology, teaching is the essence of humanism. Teaching is a process by which you can take undeveloped life and advance that undeveloped life to a refined and advanced form and be able to cement-on-time your contribution as a human artist.

The moral commitment means that we have got to respect each other for who we are. Men have got to respect women. Women have got to respect men. As a man I've got to look at a woman and see her mentally and spiritually as well as physically. She must look at me and see me in my full dimensions as well. As an Afro-American, I must be able to look at Euro-Americans and see in them human potential from which I can learn. Euro-Americans must look at me and see human potential from which they can learn. I will have to respect the contribution of the Europeans and they will have to respect the contributions of the Africians. In so doing, we will build a new world that had been anticipated by the Europeans who sought these shores as a land where diversity could live together under principles of mutual human respect.

This is the challenge. What is the alternative? We can live for another 50 or a hundred years in regressive polarization in paranoid enclaves. We can sit waiting to be attacked by the enemy. The enemy can be Black, moving into the suburbs or he can be White coming to the urban center with his Klan robe on. Whatever the fantasy may be, if we don't begin to do what we have suggested here the eighties, the nineties and into the year 2000 will see us living in little paranoid camps fighting off illusory dragons. The other alternative is genuine integration-not desegregation-not miscegenation-not assimilation--but integration! This means that I bring the integrity, the power, the dignity, the historical continuity of who I am grasp the hand of the dignity, the integrity, the historical reality of who you are and with

that separate integrity we form a working unit wereby we can transform the world and move to greater heights.

Thank you very much. Peace be unto you.

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